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Some remarks on the history of the Khotanese orthography and the Brāhmī script in Khotan

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Abstract:

The article identifies an early Khotanese orthographic system, the Archaic Orthography to be added to the three well-known later systems used for Old and Late Khotanese. The Archaic Orthography is found in a few Old Khotanese wooden documents and literary manuscripts written in the earliest varieties of the Central Asian Brāhmī script. The article also shows that the Early Turkestan Brāhmī, Type 1, so far believed to have been used only in the northern oases of the Tarim basin, was used also in the south in Khotan and that it is at the basis of the Khotanese Documentary Script. The Khotanese Book Script originated instead as a calligraphic script from the local Early Turkestan Brāhmī script, Type 2, under the steady influence of manuscripts of Mahāyāna texts in North-western Gupta script from Gilgit and Northwest India due to the high consideration the Mahāyānists showed to their religious books, regarded as cultic objects and as a means of proselytism. An appendix discusses the language of a new wooden document in Archaic Orthography and the additional grammatical information it provides.

Keywords:

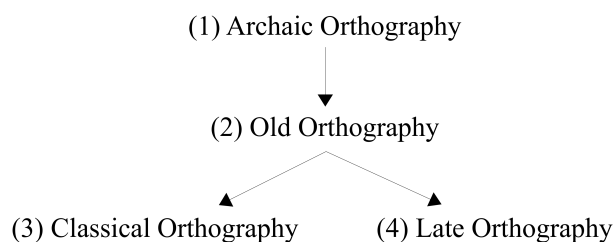
Central Asian Brāhmī script, Khotanese orthography, Khotanese Book Script, Khotanese Documentary Script, books in Mahāyāna

Several Old Khotanese manuscripts—including the recently discovered wooden document 90-YKC-040 from Karadong, the long known wooden documents IOL Khot Wood 4–5 (D.R. 01–02) from Dandan Ōilik Rawak and Or. 8211/1474 (Har. 060) probably from the Domoko area, and a few fragments of literary paper manuscripts from Khadaliq and possibly elsewhere—display a peculiar orthography and script type that point to a very early date and make them probably the oldest known specimens of Khotanese.¹ Comparison of them with further Khotanese, Sanskrit, and Tocharian B materials throws new light on the history of the Khotanese orthographic systems, the history of the Brāhmī script in Central Asia, and the origin of the Khotanese Documentary Script.

¹ For comments on a preliminary draft of this article, I am grateful to Alessandro Del Tomba, Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, Doug Hitch (who was also so kind as to revise my English), Ciro Lo Muzio, Dieter Maue, and Lore Sander. Thanks are also due to Corinne Debaine-Francfort, co-director of the Franco-Chinese Archaeological Mission to Xinjiang together with Abduressul Idriss, for providing me with photographs of the Karadong document preserved at the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region Museum in Urumqi under the signature 90-YKC-040, for proposing that I publish it (ed., trans., commentary, and facsimiles in Maggi, forthcoming), and for allowing me to make use here of the results of my study of the document. — I use the word ‘document’ as a general term to refer to non-literary texts. Scans of most manuscripts discussed in this article of which no facsimiles are available in print can be found at <http://idp.bl.uk>.

1. Orthography

Three orthographic systems are commonly held to have been used for Khotanese: two for Old and one for Late Khotanese.² Actually, four distinct systems can be distinguished: (1) the Archaic Orthography, (2) the Old, (3) the Classical, and (4) the Late.³ They seem to be related in this way:



What I term the Old Orthography is used in some early manuscripts such as those preserving translations of the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* (the four oldest manuscripts), and the *Ratnakūṭa*,⁴ which are ‘characterised by other features that are clearly archaic’.⁵ It contrasts double *tt* for [t] (as well as for [tt]) and single *t* for an intervocalic glottal stop [ʔ] or the like, which basically continues earlier **-t-* in genuine Khotanese words.⁶ However, it still has single *g* for both [g] and [ɣ], single *ś* for both the voiceless and the voiced palatal sibilants [ʃ ʒ], and single *ṣ* for both the voiceless and the voiced retroflex sibilants [ʂ ʐ]. As was pointed out by Emmerick, the ‘use of *tt* to represent the voiceless stop as opposed to *t* ... was the first device of this kind to be used in Khotanese’.⁷

A less ambiguous system which can be termed Classical Orthography characterises the greater part of the Old Khotanese literary manuscripts, including the main, seventh- or eighth-century manuscript of the *Book of Zambasta* (Z₁).⁸ It has double *gg* for [g] but single *g* for [ɣ], double *śś* and *ṣṣ* for the voiceless palatal and retroflex sibilants [ʃ ʂ] but single *ś* and *ṣ* for their voiced counterparts [ʒ ʐ], and double *tt* for [t] but single *t* for [ʔ] or the like.⁹

² See Emmerick 1989: 208, Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993: 30, 36–37.

³ Notice that there is no direct correlation between Old Orthography and Old Khotanese or between Late Orthography and Late Khotanese, though the Old Orthography is ‘one’ of the three systems used to write Old Khotanese and the Late Orthography is basically used in Late Khotanese texts.

⁴ See Emmerick 1970 (*Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*); Skjærvø 1986 (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, partly in Classical Orthography); Canevascini 1993 (*Saṅghāṭasūtra*); Skjærvø 2003 and Maggi 2015 (*Ratnakūṭa*).

⁵ Emmerick 1987: 36.

⁶ Single *t* also renders [t] in consonant clusters. For *t* [ʔ] or the like, cf. Bailey 1938b: 589–590 and Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993: 31, 42–44, who, at least for Late Khotanese, suggest realisations as ‘a [w] glide following a rounded vowel’ and ‘a back unrounded glide marking a break between two syllabic segments’ (p. 43). Khotanese *t* between vowels cannot represent [d] (still so Emmerick 1989: 208 and 1992b: 7), since *d* is used at face value as convincingly shown by Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993: 34, 39 (cf. Sims-Williams 1989: 168). The distribution of Khotanese *tt* [t], intervocalic *t* [ʔ], and *d* [d] is reminiscent of the one found in some varieties of English, including the Far-Western American English dialect, where /t/, /t/ ‘intervocalic and before an unstressed vowel’, and /d/ are realised as [t], [ɾ] (a voiced alveolar flap), and [d] (see Ladefoged 1999: 43 and the accompanying sample text). Hitch 2015: 683 and 2016: 86–88 still keeps to the values *tt* [t], *t* [d], and *d* [ɖ] (cf. Emmerick 1981: 185–188, 203).

⁷ Emmerick 1989: 208.

⁸ See Vorob’ëv-Desjatovskij and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1965 and Emmerick 1968.

⁹ In the Classical Orthography, also single *g* after *ñ*, and *ś* and *ṣ* before voiceless occlusives are used at face value. My Old Orthography and Classical Orthography correspond, thus, to the terms ‘Orthography I, II’ in SDTV 3.17 (where, however, ‘type I’ and ‘type II’ are interchanged by mistake), ‘archaic’ and ‘classical’ orthography in Hitch 2015: 663–664, and ‘Archaic’ and ‘Canonical orthography’ in Hitch 2016: 11–12.

The Late Orthography is employed in the bulk of the documents from the Khotan region and in all the other Late Khotanese texts from Dunhuang. It is, perhaps surprisingly, not derived from the Classical but seemingly from the Old Orthography. It has double *tt* for [t] but single *ś* for [ʃ] and single *ṣ* for [ʂ] like the Old. For voiced [ʒ] and [ʒ̥] it has innovated the use of the subscript hook transliterated ' , hence *ś'* [ʃ] and *ṣ'* [ʂ], but *ś'* [ʒ] and *ṣ'* [ʒ̥].¹⁰

In addition to these three long known orthographic systems there was a fourth, still earlier orthography. The wooden document 90-YKC-040, the single document consisting of the two wooden tablets IOL Khot Wood 4 and 5 (henceforth D.R. 01 and 02 for short), the wooden document Or. 8211/1474, and the paper fragments SI P 83.2, IOL Khot 24/9 (Kha. i.124.1), and IOL Khot 24/10 (Kha. i.124.2) from two literary manuscripts on paper present us with substantial traces of this system. Whereas the Old, Classical, and Late Orthographies all distinguish double *tt* from single *t*, the aforementioned manuscripts still use single *t* intervocally for both [t] and [ʔ]. Since this system is the most ambiguous and is found with the oldest script types (see § 2 below), it must have preceded all the others. I term it Archaic Orthography.¹¹

The Late Orthography may descend directly from the Old Orthography.¹² As Dieter Maue suggested to me, not only the Late but also the Classical Orthography may derive independently from the Old Orthography, as is indicated by the different devices that they adopt to distinguish the voiceless and voiced sibilants (subscript hook and doubling respectively).¹³

The conventions of the four orthographic systems of Khotanese are summarised in Table 1.

1.1. 90-YKC-40

The text of the Karadong document 90-YKC-40—a list of goods that mentions domestic animals, weapons, textiles, vessels, and presumably clothing—is short and partly lost. Nevertheless, it is apparent that it is written in good Old Khotanese. Suffice it to mention that it distinguishes accurately short *u* and long *ū*, which interchange instead in Late Khotanese, and that it preserves the old spellings *pāt-* in the hapax 9 *pātūye* ‘cloaks’ and 2 *duva* ‘two’ as against their Late Khotanese outcomes *py-* and *dva* respectively (cf. the Appendix on the

¹⁰. The Late Orthography does not need double *gg* since Old Khotanese [ɣ] is lost in Late Khotanese and single *g* was sufficient for [g]. In Late Khotanese, [ɣ] is occasionally found in loanwords, where it is written *h*: (Emmerick 1981: 204–205, Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993: 32).

¹¹. The paper document issued by Spāta Rramenara as creditor (ed. and trans. Ogihara 2015) is not written in Archaic Orthography, though it has some palaeographically conservative features such as a very old form of *ñā*, a comparatively conservative shape of *ma*, and the Central Asian form of independent *-e* (shared with all stages of the Khotanese Documentary Script, see § 2 below) and though the word *tātā* is found in line 5 of the edition. What Hirotoshi Ogihara reads as *tātā* and interprets as the nominative-accusative plural masculine of the reduplicated demonstrative pronoun (*ttātā* in the Old and Classical orthographies) should be actually be read *nā nā*. Accordingly, the sentence *nā nā puḍā* does not mean ‘Tāmen hái yǒu qiān kuān wèi fù 他們還有欠款未付 [They (†*tātā*) still have outstanding debts]’, but presumably ‘He [i.e. the debtor Śātsala] did not (*nā nā*) owe (more)’ or ‘No (more) (*nā*) is owed by them (*nā*) (i.e. Śātsala and the other debtors)’. Archaic Orthography is also ruled out by the double *tt* in the immediately following *ttī* ‘then’. Likewise, the wooden document Or. 8211/1475 in ‘[u]ncommon ductus’ (ed. and trans. Catalogue 41 with facsimile on pl. 6d; see also Maggi 2019) has very old *ñā*, as was remarked by Hiroshi Kumamoto in Ogihara 2015: 268, as well as a conservative shape of *ma*, but it is written in Late Khotanese and contains no instances of voiceless [t], so that it is impossible to determine whether the Archaic Orthography is used in it.

¹². Hitch 2016: 12.

¹³. Personal communication of 1 September 2015.

language of 90-YKC-40 and its contribution to our knowledge of Old Khotanese).

The Archaic Orthography with single *t* representing both [t] (later written *tt*) and intervocalic [ʔ] can be observed in the so far unattested 8 *taṣṭā* [taṣṭa:] ‘bowls’ (< Iranian **tašta-ka-*, cf. New Persian *tašte* ‘small basin’ etc.) as against 9 *pātūye* [pəʔu:je] ‘cloaks’ (see the first row in Table 2). Single *ṣ* is likely to represent voiceless [ʃ] in 6 *baṣe* ‘garments’, possibly a loanword from Bactrian **oap̥e*, direct plural of **oap̥o* (through Gāndhārī *vaṣe*) < Iranian **uāstra-*, if not directly derived from this.¹⁴

1.2. D.R. 01–02

The tablets D.R. 01–02 were discovered by Marc A. Stein in the northernmost site of the Dandan Ōilik oasis called ‘Rawak’ and form the bottom and the now fragmentary cover of a single sealed document.¹⁵ Whereas Harold W. Bailey remarked that ‘[t]he two pieces of wood show the same handwriting, and are in the same dialectal Saka, different from all other Khotan Saka and Tumšūq texts’, Emmerick commented that this ‘statement concerning DR 01 and 02 is in my opinion open to question’.¹⁶ I myself cannot see any reason for Stein dating the Dandan Ōilik Rawak document ‘probably early in the eighth century’,¹⁷ but it is possible that his dating influenced the conclusion drawn by Bailey concerning its dialectal character. In actual fact, the document is not written in an otherwise unknown Saka dialect but essentially in an archaic variety of regular Old Khotanese apart from occasional colloquial forms like *hāmā* (D.R. 01 1) for *hāmāte* third singular present subjunctive middle of *hām-* ‘to be, become’. The reduction observed in *hāmā* is not surprising because such frequent verbs as *hām-* ‘to be, become’ and *ṣṭ-* ‘to stand; be’ are occasionally reduced already in Old Khotanese. On the one hand, the third singular indicative present middle *hāme* for *hāmāte* in *Sanḡhāṭasūtra* 253[71], which occurs in a manuscript (Stein E 1.7 145r1) featuring frequent traces of Old Orthography (undoubled *ś* and *ṣ*) alongside strong Late Khotanese influence, may mirror the language of a Late-Khotanese-speaking copyist.¹⁸ On the other hand, however, the third singular indicative present middle *ṣṭe* for *ṣṭāte* in the fifth-century *Book of Zambasta* 3.102 and 22.283¹⁹ is the form originally used in the Old Khotanese text, as is confirmed by metrics, which requires precisely monosyllabic, one-mora *ṣṭe* (that is, *ṣṭē*). The language variety of the Dandan Ōilik Rawak document may look strange at first glance exactly because of the Archaic Orthography used in it and characterised by single *t* instead of *tt* and *t* of the subsequent orthographic systems, which simply points, however, to an early date of the document. Clear instances of *t* for [t] corresponding to subsequent *tt* are *tagatu*

¹⁴. See the Appendix below and Maggi, forthcoming § 3 for details.

¹⁵. Facsimiles SD 1.xxi; ed. and trans. Catalogue 560–561. See Stein 1907: vol. 1, 305–306 and vol. 2, pl. cvi; cf. Baumer 2003: 76–77, who terms the ruin ‘D 1’. This Rawak is not to be confused with the site, also named Rawak, located some 40 km north of the modern city of Hotan (Hetian 和田) and famous for its stūpa (cf. Stein 1907: vol. 1, 482–506).

¹⁶. SDTV 1.43; Emmerick 1969: 401. Cf. Catalogue 560, where the language of the document is described as ‘OKhot. (dialect?)’.

¹⁷. Stein 1907: vol. 1, 305.

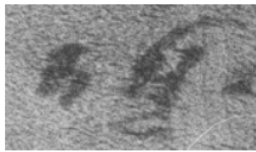

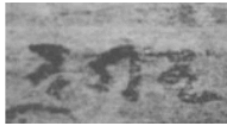
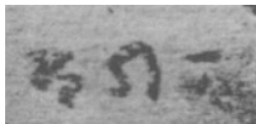
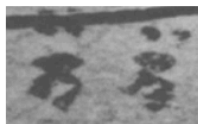
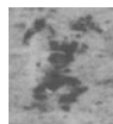





¹⁸. See Canevascini 1993: 110 (ed. and trans.), 239 (manuscript description).

¹⁹. Ed. and trans. Emmerick 1968: 68–69, 332–333. See Maggi 2004 for the fifth-century dating of this text chiefly known from a seventh- or eighth-century manuscript (cf. fn. 8).

Table 1. The Khotanese orthographic systems.

	Archaic Orthography	Old Orthography	Classical Orthography	Late Orthography
[t]	<i>t</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>tt</i>
[ʔ]		<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>
[g]	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gg</i>	<i>g</i>
[ɣ]			<i>g</i>	—
[ʃ]	<i>ś</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>śś</i>	<i>ś</i>
[ʒ]			<i>ś</i>	<i>ś'</i>
[ʂ]	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ṣṣ</i>	<i>ṣ</i>
[z]			<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ṣ'</i>

Table 2. Single *t* for [t] in 90-YKC-040, Or. 8211/1474, D.R. 01–02, IOL Khot 24/9–10, and SI P 83.2.

 <i>taṣṭā</i> (90-YKC-040 8)		 <i>tā buru</i> (Or. 8211/1474 1)	
 <i>tagatu</i> (D.R. 01 4)	 <i>tagatu</i> (D.R. 02 1)	 <i>tätä</i> (D.R. 02 3)	 <i>to</i> (D.R. 01 3)
 <i>tuvarīskyu</i> (IOL Khot 24/9 a2)		 <i>tvaṃdanu</i> (IOL Khot 24/10 a3)	
 <i>tānu</i> (SI P 83.2 a4)	 <i>tye</i> (SI P 83.2 a6)	 <i>tāṣe'</i> (SI P 83.2 b7)	

(D.R. 01 4, D.R. 02 1) accusative singular ‘property, wealth’ (= Classical Orthography *ttagatu*), *tätä* (D.R. 02 3) nominative-accusative plural masculine ‘these’ (= Classical Orthography *ttätä*), and, if word division is correct, *to* (D.R. 01 3; not *tto* as Bailey and Skjærvø: in the facsimile, *t-* is deformed by a crack in the wood) accusative singular feminine ‘that’ (= Classical Orthography *tto*) (see the second row in Table 2).²⁰

²⁰. For the sake of clarity, some spots and most traces of surrounding akṣaras have been bleached out, though kept visible, in Tables 2–3.

The Archaic Orthography combines well with the earliest known type of Documentary Script used for writing Khotanese in this document (see § 2) and with some especially conservative linguistic features, which also contribute to lending the document an unusual appearance. For example, from the verb *yan-* : *yāḍa-* ‘to do’ we have the first plural present indicative active *ganāmu* in D.R. 01 1, 2 (= regular *yanāmā*, with *-u* for *-ā* < Old Iranian **-ah* by influence of the preceding *-m-*) and the third singular masculine perfect transitive *gāḍe* in D.R. 01 5, both spelled with ambiguous *g*, which in this orthography can represent [ɣ] as here and [g] as in D.R. 01 2 *gaṃjso* accusative singular ‘sin’ (= Classical Orthography *ggamjso*). Forms of the verb *yan-* : *yāḍa-* are now and then spelled with initial *g-* or *t-* in Old Khotanese (cf. especially the past participle *°gāḍa-* in compounds),²¹ but the spellings with *y-* (sometimes even omitted in the third singular present indicative active *yīndā*) prevail decidedly.²² In contrast, it is significant that the only occurrences of the verb in the short document under consideration both have the conservative initial *g-* [ɣ], which is the expected intermediate stage in the sequence Iranian **kṛnaṣ-* : *kṛta-* > Old Khotanese *gan-* : *gāḍa-* > *yan-* : *yāḍa-*.²³

1.3. Or. 8211/1474

The Old Khotanese wooden document Or. 8211/1474 (Har. 060)²⁴ was ‘most probably obtained ... from villagers digging in the Domoko area’.²⁵ That it uses the Archaic Orthography with single *t* for [t] is clearly revealed from its initial phrase *tā buru* ‘The following’ (= later *ttā buro*) (see the first row in Table 2).

1.4. IOL Khot 24/9–10

In his catalogue of the Khotanese manuscripts in the British Library, Prods O. Skjærvø suggested that the St. Petersburg fragment SI P 83.2²⁶ may be from the same manuscript as the London fragments IOL Khot 24/9 and IOL Khot 24/10, which also stand out on account of their ‘peculiar script and unusual orthography’.²⁷ This is unlikely. Though SI P 83.2 is written in an ‘[u]nusual script’²⁸ like IOL Khot 24/9 and 10, the latter display a more orderly layout and a more calligraphic and square ductus than SI P 83.2. The contents are also different: the text in IOL Khot 24/9–10 (actually from one and the same manuscript and accordingly dealt with together) has a more doctrinal character and mentions worship of Buddhist monuments (see below), whereas SI P 83.2 describes a ritual that involves a magic spell (b1 *vidyā-*) and is meant to protect from various evils such as enemies (a1 *sānā*, a4 *sānāṇu*), dangerous insects (b2 *prāṇā*), and robbers (b7 *gamuna*). What the London and the

²¹. See Degener 1987: 36.

²². See SGS 110–112.

²³. The development of the present stem of this very frequent multifunctional verb is irregular in Khotanese, where **ṛ* becomes unexpectedly *a* (cf. SGS 112), as well as in other Iranian languages beginning with Old Persian *kunay-* (with **ṛ* > *u*) > Middle Persian *kun-* > New Persian *kon-*. In addition, Khotanese *yan-* displays the development of initial **k-* > *y-* that is usually found in the middle of a word and contrasts with the normal preservation of original word-initial **k-* > *k-*.

²⁴. Ed. and trans. Catalogue 41.

²⁵. Catalogue xlix (cf. liv).

²⁶. Facsimile SD 7.59; ed. and trans. SDTV 3.82–83.

²⁷. Ed. KT 5.146; ed. and trans. Catalogue 222 with facsimile of IOL Khot 24/9 on pl. 6a. Cf. Catalogue lxxi: ‘IOL Khot 24/9 ... comes from the same manuscript as SI P 83.2 in the St.-Petersburg collection’.

²⁸. SDTV 3.82.

St. Petersburg fragments have in common is the Archaic Orthography used in them, as well as the conservative character of their script varieties (see § 2).

That the Archaic Orthography with *t* for [t] is used in IOL Khot 24/9–10, is immediately clear from 9 a2 *tuvarīskyu* accusative singular feminine ‘excess’ (= Classical Orthography *tvarīscā*).²⁹ The use of the Archaic Orthography in IOL Khot 24/9–10 is apparently contradicted by 10 a3 *ttamda* in the available editions, but this is not the case because inspection of a scan of the fragment reveals that the first akṣara is in reality *tva* and that the passage can be safely read *kye balśa tvaṃdanu* [‘who [goes to] a stūpa in reverence’, that is, ‘who circumambulates a stūpa’, with a fairly well preserved *tvaṃdanu* ‘reverently’,³⁰ instead of Bailey’s *kye balśa ttamda* + [and Skjærvø’s *kye balśa ttamda* [‘who ... a stupa ...’ (see the third row in Table 2).

1.5. SI P 83.2

As for SI P 83.2 a clear instance of single *t* for [t] occurs in a4 *tānu* [= Classical Orthography *ttānu*] *sānāṇu* ‘of those enemies’, left untranslated by Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja. The spelling a6 *tye* genitive-dative singular ‘for him’ (= Classical Orthography *ttye*) is likewise significant because *tye* occurs occasionally in Late Khotanese but is never found in Old Khotanese in Old or Classical Orthography. A further instance of single *t* for [t] is *tāše*’ nominative-accusative plural ‘thieves’ (= Classical Orthography *ttāše*)³¹ to be read instead of the untranslated *nā še*’ of the edition in b7 *tāše*’ *gamuna* ‘thieves (and) robbers’ (for *tā* cf. a4 *tānu* and contrast *na* in b7 *gamuna*) (see the fourth row in Table 2 for *t*- and Table 3 for *gamuna*). Also relevant because of its conservative phonology—comparable with *ganāmu* and *gāde* with initial *g* [ɣ] in D.R. 01 discussed above—is a7 *gīndi* third singular indicative active of *yan*- ‘to do’ (= Classical Orthography *yīndā*). Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja tentatively read this as *āndi* and commented on the shape and reading of the first akṣara, but they could not translate the word.³² The reading *gīndi* provides a well-known verbal form³³ and is assured by comparison—summarised in Table 3—of *ga* ~ *gī* (b7 *gamuna* ‘robbers’, a7 *gīndi* ‘does’) with *pa* ~ *pī* (a3 *parāhā* ‘restraint’, a1 *pīme* ‘measures [?]’), *va* ~ *vī* (a8 *varā* ‘there’, b5 *vīri* ‘in’), and *ša* ~ *ṣī* (b5 *ṣavo* ‘night’, b4 *ṣī* ‘this [?]’).

1.6. Archaic Orthography, new signs, and Khotanese digraphs

It is noteworthy that the Archaic Orthography displayed by 90-YKC-040, D.R. 01–02, Or. 8211/1474, Khot 24/9–10, and SI P 83.2 makes no use of *tt* but already knows the new signs *ā* [ə], *ei* [aə], *rr*, the subscript hook (’), and the digraphs *ky* [kʲ], *js* [dʒ], *tc* [tʃ], and possibly *ts* [tʃʰ] that are unknown to the Indian model and were introduced to represent special Khotanese sounds.³⁴ Unfortunately, there are no instances of *gy* [gʲ] and *ys* [z]. That the

²⁹ See Degener 1989: 156 and the translation of *Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī* 5v5 and 16r5–v1 in SDTV 3.239 and 246.

³⁰ Dict. 145 s.v.


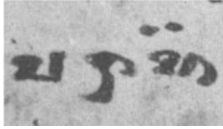
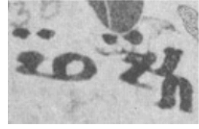


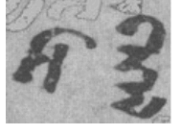
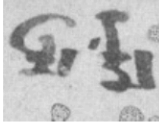


³¹ See Dict. 126–127 s.v. *ttāše*’.

³² SDTV 3.83: ‘it seems difficult to read the *ā* of *āndi* as anything else, which would mean that two different forms of *ā* were used in the same text’.

³³ See for instance Emmerick 1970: 128 and Skjærvø 2004: vol. 2, 328, both s.v. *yan*-.

³⁴ *ei* only in D.R. 01–02; *tc* only in Or. 8211/1474 and SI P 83.2; *ts* only in D.R. 01 4 *tsvā* but uncertain; *rr*, subscript hook, and *js* only in Or. 8211/1474, D.R. 01–02, and SI P 83.2; *ky* only in D.R. 01–02 and IOL Khot 24/9–10. Cf. Emmerick 1989: 209 for the phonological values; see Emmerick 1992a: 162–166 for the

Table 3. Dependent *-ī* and *ph* in SI P 83.2.

	<i>ga</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>ṣa</i>
-a -ä	 b7 <i>gamuna</i>	 a3 <i>parāhā</i>	 a2 <i>phāsgā</i>	 a8 <i>varā</i>	 b5 <i>ṣavo</i>
-ī	 a7 <i>gīndi</i>	 a1 <i>pīme</i>		 b5 <i>vīri</i>	 a4 <i>ṣī</i>

Archaic Orthography already had the digraph *gy* available is implied by the occurrence of its voiceless counterpart *ky*. As for *ys*, the hapax *phāsgā* in SI P 83.2 a2 (misread as *hāsgā* and left untranslated in the edition, but displaying a closed loop contrasting with the open loop of *ha* in a3 *parāhā*: see the fourth and third columns in Table 3), which probably means ‘urine’ and is the same word as the prior element in Late Khotanese *phiysgāna*- ‘urinary bladder’ (< *phāysga*- + **°dāna*- ‘container, receptacle’),³⁵ seems to suggest that the digraph *ys* [z] was not used in the Archaic Orthography. This is unlikely, however, because *ys* for [z] is an orthographic device already current in the Brāhmī script of western and north-western India in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was employed for writing the Iranian names *ysamotika*- and *dāmaysada*- on coins of the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty of Ujjain (western Madhya Pradesh) in the late first and early second centuries AD,³⁶ *koysana*- and *koysiya*- on coins of the Pāratarāja dynasty in the third-century (?) Loralai area (north-eastern Balochistan),³⁷ and *avariysa*- on a seal of an unidentified king possibly from the central areas of third-century northern India.³⁸ It was then adopted as the akṣara *ysa* occurring in the Sanskrit versions in Brāhmī script of the *Arapacana* syllabary of the Buddhists. The *Arapacana* is a list of akṣaras serving as abbreviations of key words relating to points of doctrine. It is thought to have been originally devised in the Gāndhārī language and the Kharoṣṭhī script in Gandhāra during the Kuṣāṇa period. The akṣara *ysa* in the Brāhmī *Arapacana* was presumably borrowed from a Kharoṣṭhī akṣara used to render Gāndhārī [z] or a similar sound which was ‘native to the language itself, not just used in loan words’, though ‘unfortunately none of the extant partial Kharoṣṭhī Arapacanas contain this letter’.³⁹ Since it is unlikely that such a peculiar device, already well established in the usage of Brāhmī in north-western India, was again invented independently in Central Asia, the Khotanese must

subscript hook in Old Khotanese and Emmerick 1998 for *ei*.

³⁵ Cf. Dict. 262 s.v. *phiysgāna*-.
³⁶ See the groundbreaking article by Lüders 1913: 406–408, 413 and Harmatta 1989: 303 for possible etymologies.

³⁷ See Tandon 2009: 140, 152–155, 158–159 and cf. Falk 2007: 174–178 (who transliterates the names in Kharoṣṭhī script as *kožana* and *kožiya* and the latter in Brāhmī as *koyxiya*, with an undetermined *x* for the subscript letter ‘too worn to be identified’, p. 176).

³⁸ Sircar 1965–1966: 278–279 and Salomon 1990: 257 n. 6.

³⁹ Salomon 1990: 257–258, 269 (quotation) with further, complete references.

have borrowed it along with the Brāhmī script itself.⁴⁰ In *phāsgä*, *s* may have been used improperly instead of *ys* as an occasional rendering of [z] in a consonant cluster whose voiced character was anyway assured by *g* [g]. The absence of other words containing *ys* [z] in the few manuscript remains unmistakably written in Archaic Orthography is due to mere chance.

To sum up, the wooden documents 90-YKC-040, D.R. 01–02, and Or. 8211/1474 and the paper manuscript fragments SI P 83.2 and IOL Khot 24/9–10 combine the Archaic Orthography with the use of the oldest varieties of the Brāhmī script found in Khotanese manuscripts, as we shall see presently, and with a conservative language, as we have seen (only the scanty remains of IOL Khot 24/9–10 do not display any specifically conservative linguistic features).

The very existence of the Archaic Orthography and its use of single *t* for [t] jointly with the new signs and devices shows that Emmerick was right when, on account of the consideration that ‘*k* is not used to render [g]’, surmised that ‘the Khotanese practice of using *tt* for [t] and *t* for [d] may be an inner-Khotanese affair’.⁴¹ Moreover, the manuscripts in Archaic Orthography under consideration attest to the short-lived period with single *t* for voiceless [t], ‘when the script was first borrowed for Khotanese with few modifications’, as Douglas A. Hitch postulated recently.⁴²

2. Palaeography

For writing their language, the Khotanese used various forms of a Central Asian development of the Indian Brāhmī script. The various forms may be grouped under the general labels Book Script and Documentary Script (usually referred to as Formal and Cursive). The Book and Documentary Scripts evolved virtually independently from each other and were basically reserved for different uses: the Book Script was limited to literary texts, including Sanskrit ones, apart from early occasional use in documents (see below); the Documentary Script was employed in the first place for documents and everyday writing, though late use for literary texts is not unusual.⁴³

The script used in the Karadong document 90-YKC-40 contributes new information on the history of the Khotanese Brāhmī script, as it is a very careful script closely connected with and much the same as the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 (alphabet r), which is otherwise known chiefly from manuscripts produced in the northern oases of the Tarim basin.⁴⁴

Different types of a local script are individuated partly by the form of characteristic letters which undergo changes in time and may be used for relative dating. One of the most significant characteristic letters in the history of the Central Asian Brāhmī scripts is the akṣara *ma*, a clear instance of which is found in the Karadong document (𑖓 in 7 *namate*).

⁴⁰. Lüders 1913: 408–409 (differently Hitch 1984: 190–197).

⁴¹. Emmerick 1989: 208. See fn. 6 for *t* representing [ʔ] or the like.

⁴². Hitch 2015: 683 under ‘Row 3’.

⁴³. See Hitch 1990 (who distinguishes between ‘literary’ and ‘business’ scripts), Catalogue lxxi–lxxii (where Prods O. Skjærvø’s observations reveal the inadequacy of the terms ‘formal’ and ‘cursive’ for the Khotanese script varieties), and Dragoni 2017: 395–396 for a quick survey of the varieties of Khotanese Brāhmī.

⁴⁴. Alphabets identified by a letter and given in parentheses as equivalents of the script types refer to the usage in the standard work by Sander 1968 on the palaeography of the Indian scripts of the Brāhmī family in the Sanskrit manuscripts recovered by the German Turfan expeditions in Central Asia.

This *ma* and the virtually identical instances of *ma* (𑖦) in the early wooden document D.R. 01–02 from Dandan Ōilik Rawak, whose archaic language and orthography have been considered above (§ 1.2), have their closest matches in the *ma* (𑖦𑖦𑖦) of the script called Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 (alphabet r) in Lore Sander’s well-thought-out terminology and used in the northern oases of the Tarim basin for writing Sanskrit manuscripts. This shape of the akṣara *ma* lies at the very origin of the development of the akṣara in the Khotanese Documentary Script. Taking into account the shapes of *ma* in select documents up to the tenth century and arranging them diachronically on the basis of their correlation with different language stages and orthography types (the Classical Orthography of Old Khotanese being never found in manuscripts in Documentary Script), one observes that the mid-left stroke of the earliest documents rises gradually to join the top of the right vertical stroke and becomes more and more flattened, and that the vertical stroke and its leftward prolongation are in the end squared off (see Table 4).⁴⁵

Nos. [1–2] are the earliest attested forms of Khotanese Documentary *ma* and significantly occur in Old Khotanese documents in Archaic Orthography. No. [3] is a transitional form of Documentary *ma* found in the document IOL Khot Wood 8 (F II.i.007) written in Old Khotanese and presumably Old Orthography, as is suggested by the spellings 1, 3 *ttu* accusative masculine ‘that’ beside 2 *śūradīvāna* (with single *ś*) instrumental-ablative masculine of a personal name ultimately from Sanskrit *śūradeva*- (= Classical Orthography *ttu* and *śśūra*).⁴⁶ Nos. [4–6] and [7–8] are taken almost randomly from the great number of Late Khotanese manuscripts in Documentary Script and Late Orthography from eighth-century Khotan and tenth-century Dunhuang respectively.⁴⁷

For the sake of comparison, the different shapes and the development of *ma* in the Khotanese Book Script—a local continuation of the script called Turkestan Gupta (alphabet q)—are given in Table 5.⁴⁸

⁴⁵. In Table 4, signatures are followed by the numbers of the lines from which the akṣaras are taken. The akṣaras of Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 (alphabet r; ETB 1 for short; also termed Type a, e.g. in Sander 2013: 290) are taken from SHT 52a v2–3, ed. and facsimile Waldschmidt 1965: 35, pl. 21 (fragments are misaligned in the facsimile). The sharp-cornered akṣara 𑖦 in Sander 1968: pl. 30 (alphabet r) has a somewhat unusual appearance. References for Khotanese manuscripts other than the Karadong and Dandan Ōilik Rawak documents (see fnn. 1 and 15) are: IOL Khot Wood 8, ed. and trans. Catalogue 561–562; Hedin 33, 52, facsimiles SD 1.i–ii, ed. and trans. KT 4.41, 46, 146, 157; Or. 6395/1, facsimile SD 1.xxvii, ed. and trans. Catalogue 6–7; P 2801, ed. KT 3.65–68; P 4099, ed. KBT 113–135. Eighth-century variants with a rightward tail such as 𑖦 (Hedin 71 a1, facsimile SD 1.iii, ed. and trans. KT 4.50, 169) are occasionally found.

⁴⁶. Unfortunately, this document has no instance of single *ś* or *ṣ* for the voiced sibilants [ʃ] and [ʒ] that would definitely rule out Late Orthography (where *ś*’ [ʃ] and *ṣ*’ [ʒ] are used).

⁴⁷. The paper document of no. [6] can be dated to the year 788 AD in the reign of King Viśa’ Vāhaṃ (see Zhang and Rong 2008 and cf. Kumamoto 2008); an eighth-century date is also probable for the Hedin wooden documents. The akṣara *ma* has a slightly more conservative form in a group of Chinese-Khotanese wooden tallies from the year 722 AD (see Rong and Wen 2008 with facsimiles).

⁴⁸. See Sander 2005: 135–141 with tables 1–2 and references to earlier literature. See also Sander 1989: 113–116 for the dating of the script types adopted here. The Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 (alphabet s)—which distinguishes subtypes 2.1 with round ductus and 2.2 with square ductus (Sander 2005: 137–138)—is termed Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type b in Sander 1984 and elsewhere (for instance, Sander 2013: 290). The Gupta akṣaras in Table 5 are taken from Sander 1968: pls. 10 (Indian Gupta, alphabets h–k) and 30 (Turkestan Gupta, alphabet r); the three following examples of *ma* are taken from Sander’s unpublished study of the Khotanese Book Script (Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 from IOL Khot 4/1 [D. iii.1] 8r2, facsimile Stein 1907: vol. 2, pl. cx, ed. Catalogue 168–169; Early South Turkestan Brāhmī from Or. 9609A2/1 3r1 *maṃ*, ed. Catalogue 71; South Turkestan Brāhmī from SI P 6 [Z.] 256v3, facsimile Vorob’ev-

Table 4. Origin and development of Khotanese Documentary Script *ma*.

SHT 52a v2–3 [0]	90-YKC- 040 7 [1]	D.R. 02 1 [2]	IOL Khot Wood 8 3 [3]	Hedin 33 a1 [4]	Hedin 52 1 [5]	Or. 6395/1 22 [6]	P 2801 15, 19 [7]	P 4099 196, 197 [8]
ETB 1 (alphabet r)	Archaic Orthography		Old Orthography	Late Orthography				
Sanskrit	Old Khotanese			Late Khotanese				

Table 5. Origin and development of Khotanese Book Script *ma*.

Late Indian Gupta, 4th–6th c. (alphabets h–k)	Turkestan Gupta, 4th–5th c. (alphabet q)	Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2, 5th–6th c. (alphabet s)	Early South Turkestan Brāhmī, 6th–7th c.	South Turkestan Brāhmī, 7th–9th c.	Late South Turkestan Brāhmī, 9th–10th c.
Sanskrit		Sanskrit and Khotanese			

Table 6. Development of *ma* in Tocharian B manuscripts.

THT 1520	THT 2678 + 3971	THT 2668 ff.	THT 273– 275, 248	THT 1661 f.	Endere	Kucha	THT 133 ff., 1174	Standard North Turkestan Brāhmī, from about 600 AD (alphabets t–u)
‘most archaic’ MSS			‘middle archaic’ and ‘early common archaic’ MSS					

The shape of archaic *ma* in the Karadong and Dandan Öilik Rawak documents differs from that in all varieties of the Khotanese Book Script and corresponds, instead, to the akṣara shape found in the aforementioned Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 (alphabet r). The latter type also developed from the Turkestan Gupta (alphabet q) but independently from the Khotanese Book Script. Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 was used in the north not only in Sanskrit manuscripts, but also in the Tocharian B manuscripts termed ‘middle archaic’ by Melanie Malzahn (especially THT 273–275 and 248). However, the Khotanese and Tocharian subsequent developments differ because the Tocharian *ma*, unlike the corresponding


Desjatovskij and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1965: 209, ed. Emmerick 1968: 198); the Late South Turkestan Brāhmī *ma* is taken from Ch. ii.002 18r1 (facsimile Bailey 1938a: 21, ed. KT 1.28). See Sander 1989: 117–118 on a possible proto-Śāradā influence on Late South Turkestan Brāhmī *ma*.

Khotanese Documentary akṣara, squares off the mid-left stroke and in the end closes the gap between it and the top of the right vertical stroke to reach the shape in the standard North Turkestan Brāhmī (alphabets t–u) (see Table 6).⁴⁹

Sander has put forward the idea that the characteristic letters of the Khotanese Documentary Script which differ in form from the ones of the Book Script but have counterparts in early Tocharian manuscripts—that is, *ma*, independent *a*, and Central Asian dependent *-e* bent to the right⁵⁰—suggest ‘that the Brāhmī script may have been introduced into Khotan from the north at about the same time that they first occurred in Tokharian manuscripts ... between the 4th and 5th centuries, the same time that the Kharoṣṭhī script ceased to be used elsewhere’.⁵¹ This seems to find confirmation especially in the script of the Karadong and Dandan Ōilik Rawak documents, but implies that script types older than the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 (alphabet s)—which developed locally from the Turkestan Gupta (alphabet q)⁵²—were used only in the north and not in the south. Actually, in Sander’s opinion the earliest manuscripts from Khotan are ‘[a]ll ... written in that type [i.e., Type 2 (alphabet s)] of “Early Turkestan Brāhmī” which preceded the “Early South Turkestan Brāhmī”’, ‘cannot be dated before the fifth, and more probably the sixth, century’, and pose ‘a problem yet to be solved’ on account of their comparatively late dating on palaeographic evidence.⁵³

However, the southern script landscape preceding the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 (alphabet s) is no longer so desolate since Klaus Wille pointed out that previous script types are attested also in several Sanskrit manuscripts from the south.⁵⁴ In particular:

1. a transitional script between the late Indian Gupta (alphabet k) and the Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I (about fifth century?)⁵⁵ is found not only in
 - 1a. the birch bark manuscript Kha. ii.3 etc. (Or. 8212/103A) from Khadalik containing passages from the *Samyuktāgama*, which was probably imported from Gilgit,⁵⁶ but also and more significantly in
 - 1b. the wooden tablet F.i.a.1 from Farhad-Beg-yailaki that ‘must have been inscribed locally’, as it contains the account of a protective mantra proclaimed by Vaiśramaṇa, ‘composed indubitably in Chinese Turkestan, where Vaiśramaṇa was the chief

⁴⁹. See Malzahn 2007: 259–260, 275–276, 296–297 (table of characteristic letters). I rely entirely on the information provided by Malzahn and give detailed manuscript numbers only for THT 273–275 and 248, that are of special interest in connection with the Khotanese akṣara. According to Tamai 2011: xxiv–xxv, Malzahn’s ‘most archaic’ and ‘middle archaic’ manuscripts correspond together to period ‘I-1’ in his classification, while her ‘early and late common archaic’ manuscripts correspond to his period ‘I-2’. The ‘most archaic’ forms still resemble the Gupta shapes (cf. Table 5), as remarked by Malzahn 2007: 276, though the top of the left stroke already points inwards instead of outwards, as Sander 2013: 293–295 notices with regard to the even earlier, pre-fifth-century Tocharian *ma*  in fragment Toch 610 (THT 4122; akṣara obtained by removing the diacritic in a4 *mā*). For the beginnings of standard North Turkestan Brāhmī (alphabet t) at the turn of the seventh century see Sander 1968: 47 n. 201 and 2013: 284–285, Malzahn 2007: 257–258, 277–278, and Tamai 2011: 371 (II-1), 416.

⁵⁰. Unlike the Indian diacritic, which is entirely bent to the left, including the tip, the Central Asian *-e* is infrequently bent entirely to the right, but is usually a leftward diacritic, whose tip only is bent to the right.

⁵¹. Sander 2005: 134. As an example of Khotanese Documentary *ma*, she refers to the comparatively late document Hedin 33 a1 (see here no. [4] in Table 4).

⁵². Cf. Table 5 and fn. 48.

⁵³. Sander 1999: 95.

⁵⁴. Wille 2009: 28–29.

⁵⁵. Cf. Sander 1968: 123, who suggests tentatively a sixth-century date for the Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type I.

⁵⁶. Ed. de La Vallée Poussin 1913.

divinity'.⁵⁷

2. a transitional script between the late Indian Gupta (alphabet l)⁵⁸ and the Turkestan Gupta (alphabet q) is found in
 - 2a. the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* fragment H 144 SB 75 (Or. 15010/62),⁵⁹
 - 2b. the *Upasampadājñapti* (?) fragment H 143 SC 34 (Or. 15010/90),⁶⁰ and
 - 2c. the small unnumbered *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* fragment in H 149 Add (Or. 15009/274),⁶¹ all from the Khotan area; and, finally,
3. the Turkestan Gupta script (alphabet q, fourth–fifth centuries) is used in
 - 3a. the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* fragment Hoernle 143 SA 20 (Or. 15010/6)⁶² and
 - 3b. the not yet identified fragment H 143 SB 67 (Or. 15010/34),⁶³ both from the Khotan area, as well as in
 - 3c. a folio from Charkhlik containing a buddhastotra parallel to Mātṛceṭa's *Prasāda-pratibhodbhava*.⁶⁴

It is probably significant that several of these very early fragments from the southern oases contain Mahāyāna texts (*Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, and a mantra) and texts that are not specifically Śrāvakayāna (*Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* and a buddhastotra). This agrees with the predominant position of the Mahāyāna in Khotan at least from the end of the fourth century, as is witnessed expressly by the Chinese Buddhist traveller Faxian who spent three months in Khotan in 401 AD, and presumably earlier.⁶⁵

Under these circumstances, it is conceivable that a common and, so to speak, spontaneous development caused the Turkestan Gupta (alphabet q), in the north and the south as well, to evolve initially into the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 (alphabet r), which was used as a general-purpose script in Sanskrit and Tocharian manuscripts in the north, but specialised as a documentary script in the south. Such specialisation is attested in the Karadong and Dandan Ōilik Rawak documents and is confirmed by the continuation of this script type into the Khotanese Documentary Script (usually called Cursive). However, in the south the Documentary Script was used concurrently with the more conservative and accurate Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 (alphabet s), a formal book script essentially reserved for literary, that is, religious manuscripts.

⁵⁷. Ed. and trans. Thomas 1954: 678–679 (quotations from p. 679), facsimile of side a Stein 1921: vol. 4, cli. On the importance of Vaiśramaṇa in Khotan see Filigenzi and Maggi 2008 with references. Vaiśramaṇa is the variant form of the deity's name in Khotanese and other languages for standard Sanskrit Vaiśravaṇa: see Bailey 1942: 912.

⁵⁸. See Sander 1968: 138–141, 148–154, pls. 21–26.

⁵⁹. Facsimile Karashima and Wille 2009: vol. 2.2, 267, ed. Skjærvø 2009: 600–603.

⁶⁰. Facsimile Karashima and Wille 2009: vol. 2.2, 293–294, ed. Karashima 2009: 464–466.

⁶¹. Facsimile Karashima and Wille 2009: vol. 2.2, 171, ed. Nagashima 2009: 275–276.

⁶². Facsimile Karashima and Wille 2009: vol. 2.2, 208, ed. Karashima 2009: 338–340.

⁶³. Facsimile Karashima and Wille 2009: vol. 2.2, 234, ed. Karashima 2009: 382.

⁶⁴. Ed., facsimile, and trans. Salomon and Cox 1988: 141–145; ed., identification, and trans. Hartmann 1988: 88–92. — It is not certain whether some fifty tiny fragments in Turkestan Gupta (alphabet q) in the Hoernle collection also come from the Khotan area: cf. Wille 2015a: 13 with n. 1 (twenty fragments of non-Mahāyāna texts in Or. 15007) and Wille 2015b: 485 with n. 2 (thirty-three unidentified fragments in Or. 15015). In his Catalogue, Skjærvø describes the small fragments IOL Khot 195/22–27, which remain unpublished, as 'Tokharian' (p. xxxi), 'Tokh.?' (p. 437), and 'Northern Brāhmī' (p. 608), but no information on their provenance seems to be available.

⁶⁵. See Zürcher 2007: 62.

While the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2, as a book script, evolved into the later Khotanese calligraphic varieties, the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 was at the basis of the later Khotanese documentary varieties, as the different developments of the akṣara *ma* exemplify. This confirms that the Khotanese Documentary Script is not a development of the Book Script.⁶⁶

The Book Script, although originating from the Turkestan Gupta (alphabet q) like the Documentary Script, presumably underwent the steady influence of manuscripts of Mahāyāna texts in North-western Gupta from Gilgit and Northwest India and evolved into the more and more calligraphic later varieties of the Khotanese Book Script. As Sander herself remarks,

[t]he neatly written [literary] manuscripts from the Southern Route ... tend to be more calligraphic. This is less obvious in older manuscripts, but becomes quite apparent in the later ones. This calligraphic tendency is one of the main criteria for grouping the manuscripts. It agrees well with the fact that the formal Brāhmī of the Southern Route is clearly set apart from the cursive script, which is not the case with the script of the Tokharian manuscripts.⁶⁷

A possible reason for the calligraphic tendency and the rise of the Book Script in Khotan may well be seen in the Mahāyāna culture of fifth-century Khotan,⁶⁸ which contrasted with the persistence of conservative Buddhism in the northern oases. The Mahāyānists showed high consideration to their religious books, which they regarded as cultic objects and used as a means of proselytism. Mahāyānist culture entailed ‘social networks built around the production and preservation of the texts’.⁶⁹ In early Khotan—where no other literary manuscripts are known apart from Buddhist ones—the increasingly calligraphic Khotanese Book Script, beginning with the accurate Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 (alphabet s), contributed to characterise religious books as vehicles of religious teaching, as cultic objects, and as a means of proselytism by making them stand out in comparison to documents in the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 (alphabet r) and its more and more cursive continuations. One can easily imagine that, in connection with donations aimed at having manuscripts copied for the sake of merit making, calligraphy not only enhanced the books as religious objects, but also rewarded the donors through their material beauty employed in the service of religion. It is significant that the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 (alphabet s), that is, the initial stage of the southern Book Script, is only rarely found in documents: it is used in the wooden documents IOL Khot Wood 6 (F II.i.1),⁷⁰ Or. 8211/1455⁷¹ (subtype 2.1 with round ductus), IOL Khot Wood 7 (F II.i.006),⁷² Or. 8211/1474 (see § 1.3), and Or. 8211/1479⁷³ (subtype 2.2 with square ductus). While it is impossible to determine the orthography type of

⁶⁶. Cf. Dragoni 2017: 395.

⁶⁷. Sander 2005: 137; cf. Sander 1968: 182. Skjærvø aptly refers to the Khotanese Book Script as “‘sūtra” script’ and comments that ‘[script] varieties that are unusual in Khotanese texts ... may be local, rather than calligraphic ..., notably, IOL Khot 24/9 ... [and] SI P 83.2’ (Catalogue lxxi). In reality, it is the calligraphic varieties that are ‘local’.

⁶⁸. See Martini 2013.

⁶⁹. See Schopen 1975; von Hinüber 1983: 52–56 (on Gilgit and Khotan), Harrison 2003 (quotation from p. 144), Hartmann 2009: 103–104, and Apple 2014.

⁷⁰. Ed. and trans. Catalogue 561.

⁷¹. Ed. and trans. Catalogue 39 with facsimile of the reverse on pl. 4f.

⁷². Facsimile SD 4.lxxv, ed. and trans. Catalogue 561.

⁷³. Ed. and trans. Catalogue 42.

Or. 8211/1455 and 1479, the documents IOL Khot Wood 6 and 7 already use the Old Orthography (*tt* = [t])⁷⁴ and must, thus, be later than the Karadong, Dandan Öilik Rawak, and Domoko (?) wooden documents in Archaic Orthography (*t* = [t] and [ʔ]) discussed above (§ 1.1–3). It is also remarkable that SI P 83.2 and IOL Khot 24/9–10, the only two unmistakably literary manuscripts written in Archaic Orthography, are written in very conservative varieties of the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2.1 (square ductus) still close to the Turkestan Gupta script (alphabet q) apart from the Central Asian *-e* and *-ai* bent to the right (a comparable script variety is found in IOL Khot 216/13 [Kha. i.223b])⁷⁵ but it is impossible to ascertain whether this is in Archaic Orthography).

It may be noted that the increasingly calligraphic nature of the Khotanese Book Script is paralleled by the increasing care the Khotanese put in the production of manuscripts of the *Book of Zambasta*. Though largely based on Indian sources, this Mahāyāna didactic poem in Old Khotanese is an original composition and may be regarded as a sort of national religious poem on account of the great popularity it enjoyed in ancient Khotan, as is revealed by the many fragments belonging to a number of variant manuscripts. The comparatively well preserved but dismembered main manuscript Z₁,⁷⁶ datable to the seventh or eighth century, and virtually all the fragments from other manuscripts of the *Book of Zambasta* have one manuscript line for each single verse and divide it into four equal sections that generally correspond to the four metrical subdivisions (*pāda*) of a verse, so that the text looks arranged in four columns. Such an arrangement is a refined imitation and development of a model provided by early manuscripts of religious poetry in Gāndhārī in Kharoṣṭhī script, including the so-called Khotan *Dharmapada* manuscript produced between the first and the third century,⁷⁷ and in Sanskrit in Brāhmī script from Central Asia, including the Charkhlik folio mentioned above.⁷⁸ However, the oldest known manuscript remnant of the *Book of Zambasta*, that is, the folio bi 33 (T III S 16) in Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 (alphabet s, fifth to sixth century) of the Berlin Turfan collection, still does not have the full-fledged ornate division into four columns of the later manuscripts, but only aligns vertically the beginning of the third *pāda* of each line and separates the first and second *pādas* in correspondence with the string hole and occasionally elsewhere.⁷⁹

The coexistence of a Documentary and a Book Script that differentiated locally in time explains their shared features in the early stages better than a scarcely motivated northern influence. Most particularly, the Central Asian dependent *-e*, *-ai*, and *-au* diacritics bent to the right prevail decidedly over the conservative, Indian diacritics bent to the left in the Karadong tablet and the Dandan Öilik Rawak document (Karadong: five Central Asian *-e*; Dandan Öilik Rawak: fourteen Central Asian but only two Indian *-e*, one Central Asian *-ai*) and become the norm in the later manuscripts in Documentary Script. In contrast, in the Book Script varieties, the Central Asian diacritics alternate with the Indian ones in the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 2 (alphabet s) and the Early South Turkestan Brāhmī, but become rare in the South Turkestan

⁷⁴. That they are written in Late Orthography is unlikely (cf. fn. 46).

⁷⁵. Ed. and trans. Catalogue 469–470.

⁷⁶. Cf. Emmerick 1968: xii–xiv on the present whereabouts of most of the folios belonging to it and U. Sims-Williams 2017: 287 on two additional unpublished folios in private possession.

⁷⁷. For the dating see Fussman 1989: 436–438.

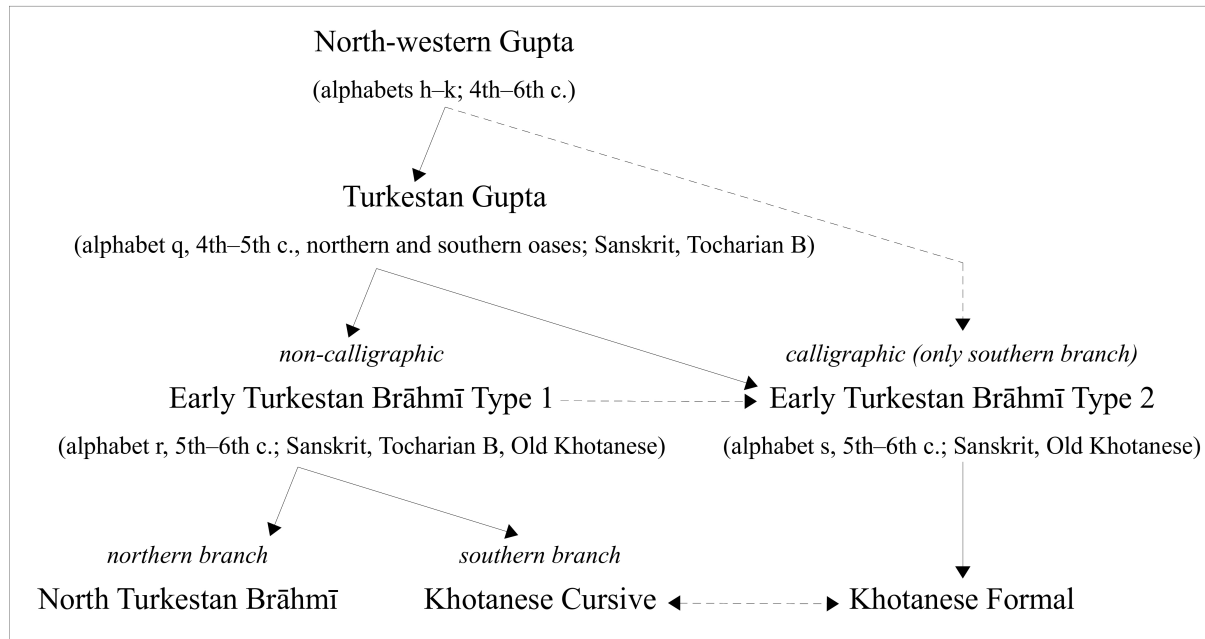
⁷⁸. Cf. fn. 64.

⁷⁹. See Maggi 2004: 187 for details and references on the Indian antecedents of the metrical arrangement in writing (see now especially Scherrer-Schaub 2017).

Brāhmī, and are abandoned completely in the Late South Turkestan Brāhmī.⁸⁰

The development outlined above is summarised in Table 7.⁸¹

Table 7. Origin and early development of the northern and southern Turkestan Brāhmī scripts.



The documents 90-YKC-040 from Karadong and D.R. 01-02 from Dandan Öilik Rawak may be approximately dated by their use of the Early Turkestan Brāhmī Type 1 (alphabet r) with an archaic shape of *ma* that lies at the very beginning of the akṣara evolution in the Khotanese Documentary Script, by their conservative language, and, above all, by their Archaic Orthography. These all point to a comparatively great antiquity, possibly around the beginning of the fifth century at the latest. An early date is also suggested by peculiarities that these documents share with Gāndhārī commercial documents in Kharoṣṭhī from Niya such as, for the Karadong document, an arrangement into columns and numbers written in both figures and words and, for the Dandan Öilik Rawak document, the form itself of a wooden document consisting of a covering tablet and an undertablet.⁸²

Appendix

Notes on the language of the Karadong document 90-YKC-040

Phonology

The prefix *pāt-* in 9 *pātūye* ‘cloaks’ (< Iranian **pati-gaudā-*, cf. Sogdian *pty(’)wδ* ‘cover, covering’) decidedly reminds one of the Old Khotanese rather than the Late Khotanese forms of such words as Old Khotanese *pātāy-* : *pātāsta-* > Late Khotanese *pyāy-* : *pyāsta-* ‘to speak’, Old Khotanese *pātālyā-* > Late Khotanese *pyālyā-* ‘prosperity’, or Old Khotanese

^{80.} See Sander 2005: 138–140.

^{81.} In Table 7, unbroken arrows indicate derivation; dashed arrows indicate influence. Cf. Sander 2005: 135 table 1.

^{82.} Cf. the facsimiles of the Khotanese document in SD 1 xxi and of some Kharoṣṭhī documents in the plates of Boyer et al. 1920–1929.

pātaunda- > Late Khotanese *pyauda-* ‘confounded’,⁸³ and is more conservative than the common Old Khotanese verb *pyūṣ-* : *pyūṣta-* ‘to hear’ (< Iranian **pati-gauša-*), which, contrary to what one might expect, is never spelled **pātūṣ-*.⁸⁴

2 *duva* ‘two’ is similarly conservative as against the later *dva* which begins to surface in Old Khotanese and becomes exclusive in Late Khotanese. As a term of comparison, it may be mentioned that the Old Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* has seven occurrences of *duva*, one of the virtually equivalent variant spelling *duta*, but only two of *dva* in 9.25 and 10.9,⁸⁵ where, however, it scans as two morae (i.e. *d(u)va* ~ ~). The spelling *duva* significantly also occurs in line 3 of the Old Khotanese document in very early Documentary Script and Archaic Orthography D.R. 01 (see § 1.2).

2 *ula* ‘camels’ is the only Old Khotanese occurrence of the word besides the accusative singular *ulä* in IOL Khot Wood 8 1, 4.⁸⁶ These occurrences show that the initial vowel is short, in agreement with the spellings in the Late Khotanese documents from the Khotan region, and solve the ambiguity of the Late Khotanese spellings *ula-*, *ūla-* in the Dunhuang manuscripts, which no longer distinguish between short *u* and long *ū*.⁸⁷ That *u* and *ū* are accurately distinguished in 90-YKC-040 can be seen from the careful spellings 4 *durne* ‘bows’ as against 5 *pūrna* ‘arrows’.

Morphology

The document provides some new information concerning the morphology of nouns of the *-a-* and *-ā-* declensions.

All words that can be read are in the nominative-accusative plural and most nouns are *-a-* stems. In Khotanese, most *-a-* nouns end in *-a* in the nominative-accusative plural (for instance, 2 *ula* and 5 *pūrna*),⁸⁸ but many of them end in short *-e* [e]. Correspondingly, most nouns of the secondary *-aa-* declension have *-ā* (contracted from *-a-* + *-a*), but some have long *-e* [e:] (contracted from *-a-* + *-e*).⁸⁹ The *-a-* and *-aa-* stems with nominative-accusative plural *-a* and *-ā* are masculine, while those with *-e* ([e] and [e:]) are described as ‘neuters’ by Manu Leumann and Ronald E. Emmerick. These are well represented in the texts and include, amongst others, the *-a-* stems *kīra-* ‘act, deed’, *data-* ‘wild beast’, and *prahoṇa-* ‘garment’ and the *-aa-* stems *āstaa-* ‘bone’ and *spātaa-* ‘flower’.⁹⁰

The occurrence, for the first time in Old Khotanese, of the nominative-accusative plural forms 7 *namate* ‘(pieces of) felt’ from *namata-* and 3 *pase* ‘sheep’ from *pasa-* indicates that these *-a-* stems are ‘neuter’ too.⁹¹

Old Khotanese final *-e* [e] is preserved as *-e* in Late Khotanese but may be also spelled *-ä/-i* (and even *-a* in the latest texts). Old Khotanese final *-ä*, *-i*, and *-u* coalesced in a single central vowel in Late Khotanese. This is variously spelled *-ä/-i/-e* (and even *-ai* in the latest

⁸³. See Dict. 236–237 s.vv. *pātāy-* and *pātāly-*, 236 s.v. *pātām-*.

⁸⁴. Cf. SGS 87 s.v. *pyūṣ-*.

⁸⁵. See Leumann 1933–1936: 444 s.v. *duva* and Emmerick 1967: 34.

⁸⁶. Ed. and trans. Catalogue 561–562.

⁸⁷. Cf. Dict. 40 s.v. *ula-*, *ūla-*.

⁸⁸. On the gender of *pūrna-* (not *pūrnā-*) see Emmerick in Studies 3.101 with reference to Dict. 245.

⁸⁹. Cf. Emmerick and Maggi 1991: esp. 68–69.

⁹⁰. See Leumann 1933–1936: 386 and the relevant entries on pp. 411, 440, 467, 398, 515, and Emmerick 2009: 385; cf. SGS 265 § 12 (vii), 299 § 70 (iii).

⁹¹. Cf. Dict. 173 s.v. *namata* and 224 s.v. *pasä*.

texts) but is kept basically distinct from Late Khotanese *-a* < Old Khotanese *-a* and short *-o* [o], though exceptions obviously occur, especially in late texts.⁹²

We know that the Late Khotanese words *pase* (SI P 136.1 v1),⁹³ *pasi* (SI P 94.23 5, 8 and Or. 6400/2.2 7),⁹⁴ and *namatä* (Dh 18916 v10, IOL Khot Wood 1 a5, SI P 103.3 2, and SI P 103.28 4)⁹⁵ were inflected as ‘neuters’ because they end in *-ä/-i/-e* < older *-e* rather than *-a*. They are all plural as confirmed by the clearly plural adjectives or numbers higher than 1 accompanying them and, thus, certainly stand for the nominative-accusative plural of the words in question.

Of course, a Late Khotanese spelling such as *pasi* is ambiguous because it can represent not only the nominative-accusative plural, but also other cases in the singular that were kept distinct in Old Khotanese. Thus, for instance, *pasi* is clearly accusative singular < Old Khotanese **pasu* in *pasi šau* ‘one sheep’ (Or. 6400/2.2 6,⁹⁶ beside one of the occurrences of plural *pasi* quoted above). However, ambiguity is reduced, as far as number is concerned, in the case of *namata-* ‘felt’ in that the Late Khotanese nominative-accusative plural *namatä* < *namate* contrasts with the accusative singular *nama* < **namatu* by the common loss of Old Khotanese final *-tä/-ti/-tu* (cf. the Late Khotanese nominative singular *nā* ‘*nāga*, serpent demon’ as against nominative-accusative plural *nāta*).⁹⁷ In documents, Late Khotanese *nama* is accompanied by the number ‘one’ in Dh 18916 v5, 7, 8, SI P 103.20 1, 2 (figure 1), IOL Khot 140/1 (Ch.cvi.001) a24, and SI P 94.23 7 (numeral *šau*).⁹⁸ A similar contrast between apocopated singular forms and an unapocopated plural due to different developments in Late Khotanese can be observed, for instance, in singular *thau* ~ plural *thauna*, both from Old Khotanese *thauna-* ‘(measure of) cloth’. The Late Khotanese nominative, accusative, and genitive-dative singular *thau* < **thauṃ* < Old Khotanese nominative *thonä*, accusative *thaunu*, and genitive *thauni* contrast with the nominative-accusative plural *thauna* < Old Khotanese *thauna*: cf. *šau maunai thau šti* ‘for me there is one measure of cloth’ (SI M 15.2 r2, nominative singular), *thau hauḍä 1* ‘he gave cloth 1’ (SI P 94.9 2, accusative singular), and *misti thau dva thauna* ‘two pieces of large cloth’ (SI P 103.4 8, genitive-dative singular and nominative-accusative plural).⁹⁹ The exceptional *nama hauḍä 2* ‘he gave felt 2’ (SI P 94.23 2)¹⁰⁰ is likely to be an inaccuracy of the scribe.

Different from 7 *namate* ‘(pieces of) felt’ and 3 *pase* ‘sheep’ is the case of 4 *durne* ‘bows’, as this is in all likelihood the regular nominative-accusative plural ending of a feminine stem in *-ā-*. The word is generally assumed to be an *-a-* declension masculine, but the evidence for positing a masculine stem *durna-* is feeble. Old Khotanese *durna* only occurs in *Book of Zambasta* 24.279 in a series of similes comparing the rules of discipline and the religious practices established by the Buddha with the protective equipment and

⁹². Cf. Emmerick 1979: 244.

⁹³. Ed. SDTV 3.160.

⁹⁴. Ed. SDTV 3.104 and Catalogue 17.

⁹⁵. Ed. Kumamoto 2007: 150, Catalogue 557, and SDTV 3.135, 147.

⁹⁶. Ed. and trans. Catalogue 17.

⁹⁷. SGS 265 § 12 (viii).

⁹⁸. Ed. Kumamoto 2007: 150, SDTV 3.143, Catalogue 321, and SDTV 3.104.

⁹⁹. Ed. and trans. SDTV 3.215, 99, 136. For the Old Khotanese occurrences see Leumann 1933–1936: 439–440 and Skjærvø 2004: vol. 2, 277–278.

¹⁰⁰. Ed. and trans. SDTV 3.104.

weapons of a warrior. It has so far been taken as a nominative-accusative plural,¹⁰¹ but such an interpretation is at variance with the Late Khotanese genitive-dative singular *duñe* in *kuysye duñe mñāṇṇdūm* ‘resembling a bent bow’ (*Siddhasāra* 21.3 Ch. ii.002 128v4),¹⁰² whose unambiguous ending *-ⁱe* (which palatalises *n* to *ñ*) unquestionably assigns the word to the *-ā-* declension. The stem is, thus, *durnā-* and Old Khotanese *durna* is its regular nominative singular: *haṣṭa śśākṣāvatā baṃggāmu padande . smṛty-upasthāne durna samya-prahāṇa / pūrṇānu bājo rāddhā-pāta kho hālste* ‘He fashioned the eight *śikṣāpadas* [precepts] as armour. The *smṛtyupasthānas* [applications of mindfulness] are the bow, the *samyakprahāṇas* [right efforts] are instead of arrows, the *rddhipādas* [bases of psychic power] like spears’ (*Book of Zambasta* 24.278–279).¹⁰³ The only other Old Khotanese occurrence of the word in *durnānu ṣparggā* ‘There is a discharge of bows’ (*Book of Zambasta* 24.410)¹⁰⁴ is irrelevant to gender because the genitive-dative plural ending *-ānu* is shared by *-a-* and *-ā-* stems.

All the remaining occurrences can be explained as forms of the corresponding Late Khotanese stem *dū(r)nā-*: (1) *durnā*, *dūni*, and *dūna* in *durnā vara* ‘over to bow’ (IOL Khot 160/1 [H. 143 NS 72] v2),¹⁰⁵ *paraśai* ‘bairai dūni’ ‘He should carry an axe, bow’, *kāḍana bārī dūna* = *kāḍara bere dūna* ‘He should carry a sword, bow’ (*Sudhanāvadāna* 297 A 113–114, C 170–171 = P 258–259),¹⁰⁶ and *hastā vā bāyara . dūna ra jsām rrijsā pūna* ‘bring me an elephant and also a bow, sharp arrows!’ (*Rāmayāṇa* P 2801 41)¹⁰⁷ are accusative singular with *-ā/i* and, basically, *-a* < Old Khotanese short *-o* [o]¹⁰⁸ (as well as Old Khotanese *-a* due to pressure from the nominative); (2) *dūnai* in *byihq dūnai hame* ‘it is a hunting bow’ (*Turkish-Khotanese wordlist* [3] P 2892 167) is nominative singular with *-ai* for *-ā/e* due to influence of the *-i-* declension or more likely as a late spelling for Old Khotanese *-a*; and (3) *dunā* in *dunā hīvī thaṃnā hame* ‘it is the *thaṃnā* of the bow’ (*Turkish-Khotanese wordlist* [8] P 2892 170)¹⁰⁹ is genitive-dative singular with the non-palatalising ending *-ā/i* occasionally found, also with stems usually showing palatalisation, instead of regular *-ⁱe* in Late Khotanese (*-ā* is already found in Old Khotanese).¹¹⁰

Finally, the Late Khotanese *-kā-* derivative in *brraukālqkīja dunaka* ‘the arch/bow of the eyebrows’ (*Lyrical poem* P 2025 66;¹¹¹ cf. Sanskrit *bhrū-maṇḍala-* ‘arch of the eyebrow’, *bhrū-cāpa-* ‘bow of the eyebrows [discharging glances as arrows]’¹¹²) should accordingly be assigned to a feminine stem *dunakā-* ‘bow’ from *durnā-*. The derivative shows regular shortening of the stem final *-ā-* of the base lexeme as in Late Khotanese *bīśakā-* from *bīśā-*

¹⁰¹. Leumann 1933–1936: 330, 444 (misinterpreted as ‘arrows’, with a query in the glossary), KT 6.121, Emmerick 1968: 393, Dict. 162.

¹⁰². Ed. KT 1.60; Emmerick’s unpublished translation.

¹⁰³. Ed. and trans. (slightly modified here) Emmerick 1968: 392–393.

¹⁰⁴. Ed. and trans. Emmerick 1968: 400–401.

¹⁰⁵. Ed. and trans. Catalogue 358.

¹⁰⁶. Ed. and trans. De Chiara 2013: 25, 36, 48, 131.

¹⁰⁷. Ed. KT 3.67.

¹⁰⁸. Cf. Emmerick and Maggi 1991: 70.

¹⁰⁹. Ed. and trans. Emmerick and Róna-Tas 1992: 204, 206.

¹¹⁰. Cf. SGS 271 §§ 19 (i–ii) on the accusative singular *-ā/i*, *-a* < earlier *-o*, *-a* and 18 (ii–iii) on the nominative singular *-ai* for *-ā/e*, and 273 § 20 (ii–iii) on the genitive-dative singular in *-ā/i*. See also Sims-Williams 1990: 282–283 on the nominative ending *-a* used for the accusative (*-o*) in Old Khotanese.

¹¹¹. Ed. KT 3.47.

¹¹². MW 726 s.v. *bhrū-*.

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¹¹³. This shortening can be compared with the one observed in Khotanese *palaā*- ‘banner’ ← Prakrit *paḍākā*- < Sanskrit *paṭākā*- (SGS 300 § 74) and Khotanese *brīyāā*- ‘love’ and *śśāḍāā*- ‘goodness’ < Old Iranian **friya-tā-kā*- and **srīra-tā-kā*- respectively (Sims-Williams 1990: 281, who concludes that ‘the Khot. contracted declensions in fact include no stems ending in two long vowels’). Cf. Degener 1989: 190 s.v. *dunaka*- (allegedly masculine; cf. Emmerick 1996: 118 n. 7), 194 s.v. *bīśakā*-, and 196 s.v. *rrīnakā*- (!).

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